11 Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS
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very small dots and strokes, the votõ'ro use rings, the pénye have patches. Eduardo Hoerhan, the agent of Serviço de Proteeção aos Indios who in 1914 concluded a treaty of peace with the Botocudo of Santa Catharina (Jules Henry's "Kaingang"), has sent me the following data:[29]

These people are grouped into three exogamous and patrilinear, unlocalised major clans who claim kinship with as many legendary heroes, Uvanhêcũ, Crên-ndõ, and Zêit-tacha-cá-i-lê. The members call themselves "kin" of the heroes—Uvanhêcũ-caïcá, etc.—but the true clan names seem to be mê-vidn, mê-cálêbn, and mê-cũi-ken. They vary in decorative paint, the mê-vidn using two parallel rows of dots on the forehead, chest, and back; the mê-calêbn, vertical strokes on the forehead; the mê-cũi-ken, circles on the forehead, cheeks, chest, and back. The heroes are also supposed to have created the animals respectively bearing similar designs; but sun and moon are not classified in this scheme. Further, variations in paint occur in subclans: the mê-to pãa-pa (mê-vidn) substitute broad patches for the dots, retaining the same arrangement; the zôo-zí (mê-cálêbn) add a horizontal stroke above the vertical forehead lines; the cũi-kent (mê-cũi-ken) use a central dot with their circles.

Accordingly, the votõ'ro of the Kaingang obviously corresponds to the Botocudo-mê-cui-ken; the mê-to-pãa subgroup of the mê-vídn (B.) to the pénye subgroup of the kanyerú moiety (K.); the zôo-zí subgroup of the mê-cálêbn (B.) to the pénye subgroup of the kamé moiety (K.); the cúi-kent (B.) to the votõ'ro of the kanyerú moiety (K.). The correspondences and lacunae may be represented as follows:

	Botocudo		Kaingang	
Exogamous units				
Dot decoration	mê-vídn	=	kanyerú	
Lines	mê-cálêbn	=	kamé	
Rings	mê-cũi-ken		— (see subgroup votõ'ro)	
Subgroups	?		kanyerú-ag-paí	
	?		kamé-ag-paí	
	cũi-kent		kanyerú-ag-votõ'ro	Rings
			kamé-ag-votõ'ro	Rings
	mê-to pãa-pa		kanyerú-ag-pénye	Patches
	zôo-zí		kamé-ag-pénye	Patches

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The Individual and the Extended Family

The exogamous moieties are composed of individual families; the extended family is not of basic economic importance, although there is a germ of such a development in feminine house ownership. For the daughters remain in their mother's home after marriage, so that their children grow up under their maternal grandmother's care. This old woman's married brothers and sons do, it is true, reside in the houses of their mothers-in-law; but they regularly frequent the house of their mothers and her sisters. There they usually enjoy greater prestige than the husbands who have joined the household, and if a man loses his wife by death or divorce, he resumes his place in the maternal home without any formality.

It sometimes happens that a couple do not remain in the wife's mother's house but put up a dwelling of their own, either because of restricted space facilities or because the husband attaches more weight to personal independence. However, in this case the new habitation always rises immediately beside the wife's mother's. In this way an extended family may spread over several houses. These arrangements naturally promote the avunculate.

[29] Letter of Nov. 17, 1933.

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587 Within the whole span of my experience I observed a single instance of the levirate, an elderly widower marrying his younger brother's widow. It struck me as an exceptional case. There certainly was not the least obligation for such a step; on the contrary, several Indians seemed to regard the affair as a bit peculiar and the manner in which the man concerned, my "brother," chief Kukrãčą', told me about it sounded almost apologetic.

MATRILOCAL RESIDENCE; IN-LAWS

591 There is strict matrilocalism; even if a husband builds a separate dwelling for his wife, it is invariably erected beside her mother's. I know of no instance of a [958] woman's spending as much as a single night in her husband's mother's house except to tend him during a serious illness, for in that case he would invariably be conveyed to his maternal home. Sometimes, as noted, a niece may be raised in her paternal aunt's house.

578 592 As a rule a young husband plays a very modest part in his mother-in-law's house. If his conduct is disapproved of, he is not indeed turned out of doors, but the other inmates simply ignore him. Unless, then, the union is of the indissoluble type, the poor fellow either turns over a new leaf or takes his sleeping mat, either returning to his mother's dwelling or joining his age class in the plaza.

606 607 During the first years of wedlock a man never communicates directly with his parents-in-law, his wife serving as an intermediary for either party. In the course of time—especially after the arrival of children—the rule is relaxed, that is, at first only between father-in-law and son-in-law, who henceforth converse with fair freedom from restraint. Finally, the wife's mother also addresses her daughter's husband, though a certain reserve is maintained inasmuch as they avoid meeting or addressing each other when by themselves. In case of a chance encounter the son-in-law gives the woman a wide berth.

On the other hand, a husband is quite free in his intercourse with his wife's brothers. In several instances I was struck by their inconsiderate use of the husband's personal property, and a certain Nyõhí once confidentially complained to me about the tyranny of his brothers-in-law. Connections by marriage never address each other by their names, but use the proper kinship terms unless they are each other's hąpĩn or kwų'nõ, which makes them substitute these terms. A woman calls a man "my son-in-law" even after the dissolution of the marriage.

421 593 A good son-in-law is, above all, expected to lay out a plantation for his wife and to supply her with meat. Many couples remain in the wife's maternal home for good; some erect one for themselves, but this always belongs to the wife, even after divorce, notwithstanding the fact that it was built by her husband.

562 554 From the matrilocal organization, coupled with feminine house and field ownership, as well as control of the children, it follows that the husband as such plays a minor role, his influence resting on personal merit. With the lapse of time some may thus attain an important position, others remain subordinate all their lives. In no circumstances is there any question of masculine dominance over a wife and children.

177 562 736 The contact with civilization, facilitating housebuilding and agriculture through the introduction of iron tools, enhanced the importance of women, while that of men rather decreased through the elimination of war and the diminution of hunting. A widow's destitution, a disowned wife's misery, a couple's quarrel over the control of their offspring—these are matters known to the Canella only as occurring among their civilized neighbors. After the husband's death the widow and her

After the husband's death the widow and her children are shielded from want by her brothers and sisters. A widower normally returns to his mother's house. He is really the one more deserving of pity, especially after decades of wedlock, when he is too old to remarry. Accordingly, two old widowers with adult daughters did not take the trouble to move to their matrilineal home, but for the rest of their lifetime remained with their girls. On the other hand, young widowers who contemplate remarriage leave the house of the deceased a few days after the death even if there should be issue. However, father and children visit each other, the former occasionally bringing the youngsters a gift consisting of victuals and in turn being entertained by them.

When a man moves into his mother-in-law's home, his social position alters only with reference to this new relationship to the inmates of the house and to his age class in so far as he ceases to sleep with the bachelors in the plaza. Otherwise his social activities hardly suffer any change; of the many social units with which he is affiliated only the family takes cognizance of the cleavage between married and single men.

Strictly speaking, a husband cannot be said to "move" from his maternal to his mother-in-law's home; he rather becomes a member of two households simultaneously, and I have always had the impression that he feels the bond with his mother's house as far closer than with his wife's. This is quite natural since the former is indestructible, while the latter may be dissolved any day. For example, a married man continues to turn over part of his game to his mother's household or has his wife do so. Either alone or in the company of his wife he will often spend a part of the day with his mother, who prepares food for both spouses. Usually a man also keeps part of his personal belongings at his mother's—if for no other reason, in order to preserve them from encroachments by his brothers-in-law. Further, as indicated above, a man who falls seriously ill goes back to his mother's, usually with his wife, to remain there till his recovery. If it is at all possible, a Timbira dies at his mother's house, where the corpse is invariably laid out.

At his mother's a man always is respected and decisively influences his sister's children, for whose support he is in part responsible in an emergency. His role in a niece's marriage has been noted; anciently, a nephew was his preordained companion in a raid against enemies and preceded him in an attack.

After the official council session and the subsequent chat in the plaza, that is, about 7:30 P.M., the dignitaries and their male auditors by no means depart straightaway to their wives, each rather regularly betaking himself to his matrilineal home, where he is an expected guest at that hour. As soon as he has seated himself there on a bed, his mother, sister, or niece serves him some food that has always been previously prepared for him. Not until he has eaten and uttered his opinion on family affairs does he leave for his wife's home.

MOURNING

Whenever a married Indian goes on a protracted journey—say, a begging jaunt to one of the coastal state capitals—his wife goes into a mourner's seclusion until his return. This retreat differs from that customary after a death only through the lack of lamentation and its possibly much greater duration. The woman ceases to cut her hair and to paint herself, puts on no decorative object, does not appear publicly, holds conversation only with her house mates, and rarely leaves her platform bed. Kentapí thus mourned over her absent husband from the beginning of August, 1930, until the beginning of April, 1931. Snr. Marcellino Miranda, the